DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 197 609 FL 012 057

AUTHOR Van de Craen, Pete
TITLE Developmental Communicative Competence and Attitudes in Education. Acts of the Colloquium of the Swiss Interuniversity Commission for Applied Linguistics. CILA Bulletin, No. 31.
INSTITUTION Commission Interuniversitaire Suisse de Linguistique Appliquee (Switzerland).
PUB DATE 80
NOTE 16p.: Slightly revised version of a paper presented at the International Congress of Applied Linguistics (5th, Montreal, Quebec, August 20-26, 1978).

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Academic Achievement: *Classroom Communication: *Communicative Competence (Languages): *Dialects: *Diglossia: Elementary Education: *Language Attitudes: Language Research: Linguistic Performance: School Role: *Social Attitudes: Sociolinguistics: Speech Communication: Standard Spoken Usage
IDENTIFIERS Belgium

ABSTRACT

A study was made of aspects of communicative competence in a diglossic situation. Communicative competence in this situation is regarded as an interaction process between speech diversities. This report covers the first stage of a longer study in which there was an attempt to link attitudinal factors with linguistic components in particular situations. One elementary school of 132 pupils in a working-class area in the city of Antwerp, Belgium was chosen for the study. Questionnaires were given to both parents and students. The results indicated that the school exerts a large influence on language attitude: most students regard the standard language as that of intelligent and friendly people. Furthermore, it appears that the children use language not according to their knowledge of it but according to the social values attached to that language variant. The theoretical implications that are drawn have to do with communicative performance versus communicative competence. It is suggested that the former be regarded as an interaction process between speech diversities governed by attitudinal and situational factors. (AMH)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED197609

Commission interuniversitaire suisse
de linguistique appliquée

Developmental Communicative Competence and Attitudes in Education.[1]

Pete Van de Craen

What is needed is a more basic enquiry into the nature of communication processes...
GUMPERZ and HYMES (1972, 14)

3/20

Introduction

In this paper we would like to discuss some issues in sociolinguistics which in recent years have evoked a considerable amount of attention. The ultimate goal is to criticize and enlarge the notion of communicative competence which will be studied in a diglossic urban setting. We will focus our attention on the primary school because we feel, together with AMMON (1977), that much of the tension between standard language and regional language or dialect is to be found in the educational system. Moreover, some very interesting research has already been carried out in this field, in the United States as well as in Europe (cf. BARATZ and SHUY (1970), CAZDEN (1970), CAZDEN, JOHN and HYMES (1971), HASSELBERG (1972), AMMON (1973a and b)). We will start out with some critical comments on the way sociolinguistics has been applied to the language-educational field. We will suggest particular approaches which we will later apply to a Belgian school situation. Finally, we will discuss the theoretical implications of our findings.

No researcher dealing with language-educational problems can overlook the notorious discussion about deficiency and difference theory. It is common knowledge that after the optimism provoked by the compensation programmes the difference theory produced heavy reactions not only from linguists, but from psychologists and sociologists as well. One of the most interesting aspects of the developments of the research field in recent years has been the severe criticism of the difference theory. It has been pointed out that it is not sufficient to state that there are *only* differences between, for instance, middle and lower class speech and that it is therefore altogether unimportant whether the child speaks a dialect or the standard language in school (cf. AMMON and SIMON, 1975). Linguists, of course, know that there is no such thing as a better language,

1 This is a slightly revised version of a paper read at the Vth International Congress of Applied Linguistics, Montreal, August 20–26, 1978.

FL 012057

2

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Francoise Rebard
Editor/CILA

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

but from a social viewpoint linguists also know or should know that in reality there is a big difference between whether one speaks a dialect or the standard language. To state, therefore, that we only deal with differences, and then to drop the subject or focus our attention on other aspects, has been a severe shortcoming. This will not help those children who do have problems (cf. SPOLSKY, 1972). For that reason difference theory should have been a starting point for further research but this has not happened. Moreover, it still has to be proven whether difference theory is a valuable theoretical starting point. AMMON and SIMON (1975) even go as far as to argue that there is no valid theoretical foundation for the difference theory and that empirical research on this question is far too incomplete.

There is yet another aspect of these language-educational problems. Researchers in this field are so optimistic as far as the power of their approach is concerned that they think, in SPOLSKY's words, that they «can cure all the ills» of society and that «language problems are basic» with respect to that society (SPOLSKY, 1972, 193). They often fail to realize the intimate complicated relationships in society which often go beyond language problems. One example by GILES and POWESLAND (1975) will make this clear. They mention a study by WILLIAMS, WHITEHEAD and MILLER (1971) where «listeners were asked to evaluate the speech patterns of a Black child whom they saw and heard by means of a videotape recording. Despite the fact that standard White speech patterns were superimposed on the tape, the child was nevertheless perceived to be speaking less standardly than a White child voicing those same speech patterns. Thus even if (. . .) the child was objectively able to speak the prestige code, he might still be perceived as speaking in a nonstandard way» (GILES and POWESLAND, 1975, 109). SPOLSKY (1972) argues along the same lines: «unemployment patterns are not controlled by linguistic but by economic and racial factors. A Mexican American is out of work not because he can't read, but because there is no work, or because the employers don't hire Mexicans» (SPOLSKY, 1972, 194). Apparently we need more than language programmes to overcome societal pressures and prejudices.

This leads us directly to a third critique: the way one has been carrying out sociolinguistic investigation. One gets the uneasy feeling that we are more and more working with a number of issues that need more study and insight than is now available. We shall point out three examples. Assuming that there is such a thing as a language barrier, there are many questions that are still unanswered and which do not seem to draw much attention. How exactly does a language barrier come about? Do language

barriers differ from one region to another? In what kind of situation will these barriers be more powerful? What is the relationship between language barriers and general attitudes to the language variants of that region? What is the relation to other barriers in social life? A second example relates to the problems of standard language and education. Let us assume that the child's mother tongue is a dialect, that it has gone to kindergarten and that it has acquired some knowledge of the standard language. Now, the question arises in what way and to what extent do we have to teach standard language? Wouldn't it be more sensible to concentrate on language use than on language teaching properly? Anyway, both approaches seem better than the one we can often observe: a total disregard as to what the real problems are (cf. AMMON, 1977). If we adopt the learning theory, is learning the standard language the same thing as learning a second language as has been stated by some scholars? This has never been proven. Moreover, little research dealing with this problem has been carried out. The third example stresses the contribution of social psychology. LAMBERT (1972), GILES and POWESLAND (1975) and GILES (1977) have demonstrated the value of this branch of the social sciences for (socio) linguistics. «(. . .) applied sociolinguistics may be given a new lease of life [and may lead us] towards a richer theoretical base» Giles (1977, 36) writes. We will try to demonstrate this interesting notion using the speech convergence and divergence theory which states that according to different circumstances speakers may or may not decide to accentuate the similarities (convergence) or the differences (divergence) between oneself and others (cf. GILES, 1977). It is obvious that the explanation of processes like this may throw valuable lights on different aspects of sociolinguistics including language-educational problems.

We will not try to answer all the questions we have raised here but I think that it is by now clear that LABOV's plea for «a new way of doing linguistics» (LABOV, 1972, 259) requires a «new theory of language» (LABOV, 1972, 259). A theory which has to take into account many aspects which were hitherto considered superfluous to linguistics (cf. VAN DE CRAEN, 1978). If linguistics is primarily a social science, as we and others believe (LABOV, 1972), then it is only right to enlarge our view to include the social sciences. The ambitious task sociolinguists have put forward (cf. BRIGHT, 1966) cannot be achieved otherwise.

Empirical design

We will concentrate on certain aspects of communicative competence in a particular diglossic situation. We will argue that communicative

competence in our situation can best be regarded as an interaction process between speech diversities. We have chosen a community in the city of Antwerp, Belgium, in a predominantly working-class area. We did so because our first concern was to work with a homogeneous group as far as the social level was concerned. One school of 132 pupils was chosen because a previous study had shown that over 90 % of the pupils came from working-class families (JANSSENS, 1973). But first we would like to say something about the particular Belgian language situation before going into the experimental details.

Belgium is in fact a trilingual country, Dutch, French and German. We will focus on the Dutch speaking part, Flanders. Due to historical reasons dialects are still flourishing, often at social levels where one would normally expect the use of standard language[2]. The study of language in Belgium is closely linked to political factors. Therefore, it is a very touchy subject and this touchiness is reflected in people's reactions to language, particularly in those areas where bilingualism or diglossia is thought to be socially relevant. In recent years, however, we have observed a rapid increase of the use of standard language (MEEUS, 1972). Together with this evolution researchers have noticed very interesting aspects of diglossia. Different pronominal forms, for instance, seem to indicate not only different grades of power and solidarity (BROWN and GILMAN, 1960) but also an evolution in the increase in use and prestige of the standard language (see BAETENS BEARDSMORE and VAN DE CRAEN, 1979).

Two important theoretical notions could be drawn out of the previous: first, that there exists a great sensitiveness towards dialect and standard language matters; secondly, that there is a big difference between the norm and the actual usage of language, which means that one may advocate one form but use another in conversation (see DEPREZ and GEERTS, 1978). These observations have served as a starting point for the present research in the school system. It was felt that the following three hypotheses would cover a great deal of the actual language use in the school in question:

1) Language sensitiveness runs parallel with attitudinal factors;
2) This sensitiveness will affect the children's verbal output in specific situations;
3) The reaction to this sensitiveness will vary according to age.

2 For a detailed description of the language situation in Flanders, as well as for an historical outline, see WILLEMYNS (1977) and DEPREZ and CEERTS (1978).

The testing of these hypotheses is in fact part of a substantial long-term linguistic investigation in a working class community. We will report here on the results of the first stage where we have tried to link attitudinal factors with linguistic components in particular situations. From an early age children seem capable of modifying their language output according to the person spoken to, the setting and the topic. In the first stage we have tried to make these elements operative. We proceeded in the following way. A questionnaire was developed and distributed among the parents of the pupils attending the school. A semi-matched guise technique was used for the pupils. The results gave us a reliable view as to the general attitude towards standard language and the vernacular. We were interested in the attitude of the individual parents because we felt that they would strongly influence the children's attitude. We sent out 132 questionnaires and got back 94 (71 %) out of which 73 (55 %) were usable. 73 females and 55 males answered the questionnaire, giving a total of 128 persons. (Questions to be found in Appendix 1)

Significance on the 0.05 and 0.01 level for «strongly agree» or «agree» was found for the following factors:

standard language should be spoken in school;
standard language is a distinct language;
my children should speak dialect as well as the standard language;
dialect and standard language have the same communicative value;
standard language is a dignified language;
my child is allowed to speak dialect;
you get more chance «to make it» if you speak standard language.

Significance on the same levels were obtained for the following as far as «strongly disagree» or «disagree» are concerned:

dialects should be forbidden;
the standard-language speaker has more money than the dialect-speaker;
you have more chance «to make it» if you speak the vernacular;
there is no difference between dialect and standard language;
the vernacular is an ugly language;
one should speak the vernacular in school.

The results indicate that:

1) the standard language has great prestige for educational and professional matters;

2) there is little, if any, social distinction felt, between a dialect-speaker and a standard-language speaker;
3) however, dialect is not forsaken:
   - one should speak both language variants;
   - they have the same communicative value;
   - children are allowed to speak it and not discouraged;
   - dialects should not be forbidden;
   - dialects are not ugly.

These results clearly confirm the tendencies which were previously discovered (MEEUS, 1972). One should, however, be aware of some important refinements. The fact that the standard language has greater prestige does not mean that it is often used. In nearly every aspect of social life the vernacular is used. Even in conversations with the teacher, both parents and teacher use dialect. Secondly, the denial of any social distinction between dialect speakers and standard language speakers stems from the fact that the lower- and middle-classes are never clearly distinguished by language factors. It is therefore to be expected that in the community in question people tend to deny any social distinction based on language alone, since at all levels the vernacular is used.

The pupil's attitudes were examined by the now famous matched-guise technique. Our approach can better be titled semi-matched guise as the majority of the children were immediately aware that language aspects were studied. Each pupil heard two identical stories on a tape recorder. One was read in dialect, the other in the standard language. The pupils were told they were going to hear one story read by two different female persons. Afterwards they were asked to judge the persons in terms of «pleasantness», «severity», «intelligence», «friendliness», which person they would prefer as a teacher, and how they would read the story themselves. However, care was taken to avoid the terms «dialect» or «standard language». Instead, the experimenter said: which person would you prefer, the one that read first, or the one that read second? In order to discover possible order influences, one half of the testees heard the dialect version first, the other half heard the standard language version first. Items like «friendliness», «severity» etc. were chosen because in a pilot survey these terms were found to be relevant as far as judging language and persons who spoke a particular language variant were concerned. Speaking the standard language is in the community normally regarded as being «friendly» and «polite» whereas speaking the vernacular is regarded as rather «severe». The results are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1

age	order	pleasantness	severity	intelligence	friendliness	class	self
7	D – SL	pro D**				pro SL**	
	SL – D	pro SL**			pro SL**	pro SL*	
8	D – SL	pro D*		pro SL*			
	SL – D				pro SL**		
9	D –SL	pro D**		pro SL*			
	SL – D	pro SL**		pro SL**	pro SL**	pro SL**	pro SL**
10	D – SL	pro D*	pro D*	pro SL**	pro SL**		pro SL**
	SL – D	pro SL**	pro D**	pro SL**	pro SL**	pro SL**	pro SL**
11	D – SL	pro SL**	pro D**	pro SL**	pro SL**	pro SL**	pro SL**
	SL – D	pro SL*		pro SL*	pro SL**	pro SL**	pro SL**
12	D – SL	pro SL**		pro SL**		pro SL**	pro SL**
	SL – D		pro D*	pro SL*	pro SL*		pro SL**

D : dialect
SL : standard language
pro : in favour of
* : significant at the 0.05 level
** : significant at the 0.01 level
A blank space indicates that no significance was found
class : would like to sit in class with;
self : would like to read it that way;

This leads us to the following conclusions:

1. as was found earlier, the standard language has an enormous prestige;
2. in the situation we examined dialect is «pleasant» when presented first; when presented second it is not «pleasant» at all;
3. in the higher grades, however, disregarding the order in which the stories were presented, the vernacular definitely seems to be the language of «severity». This probably has something to do with the fact that when the teachers get angry they automatically switch to dialect, so for the child, this means a link between dialect and «severity».
4. the order in which the stories were presented seems to be of relative importance; the younger children seem slightly more affected by it than the older ones who already have clearly strong attitudes in favour of the standard language;
5. standard language is the language of «intelligence» and «friendliness» or in other words, standard language is the language of knowledge and civilised behaviour.

The results indicate that the school exerts an enormous influence on language attitude. The standard language thus becomes the language of intelligent and friendly people. It is normal that one speaks standard language in school. As one 11 year old boy pointed out: «We learn the standard language because we are being raised to become nice people». We may sympathise with another 11 year old girl who sighed: «They (i.e. The teachers) teach us how to speak the standard language, but is it that important?» This reaction touches on one of the unconscious reasons for frustration with dialect speakers of the lower-class. They realize that the standard language is the language of education, knowledge etc, yet their cultural values often go in different directions. The discrepancy between this attitude and their incomplete knowledge of the standard language is another reason why they might be turned away from what is generally considered as «culture». This may be one of the reasons why over 90 % of the children concerned never enter high school although their IQ is not necessarily lower than that of other groups.

It is very interesting to examine the influence these attitudinal aspects have on the actual performance of the spoken language of these children. In fact we were trying to answer the following question: given the attitudinal factors discussed above, would these be reflected in the actual verbal performance, would there be contraints or barriers on the use of the vernacular or of the standard language? In recent years a number of com-

municative tests have been developed, a famous one being the story recall-test aimed at finding out whether the child's expressive and receptive abilities differ according to the language variant (BLANK and FRANK, 1971). Our study deals with a homogeneous population in the sense that it is made up of dialect speakers who had been «learning» standard language for at least 3 years or for maximum 9 or 10 years. Therefore, we thought it superfluous to check whether dialect speakers would perform better in the vernacular or in the standard language. Moreover we were not so much interested in the children's knowledge of the standard language but in their use of one or the other variant.

An approach was developed to test whether the children's verbal reaction was a function of their attitude. A simple vocabulary test was used. The experimenter always spoke dialect to the testees. This test was taken one week after the attitude measurement. By this time the experimenter and the pupils knew each other fairly well. Pupils were asked to name a number of objects on pictures which were shown by the experimenter. Initially the experimenter never insisted on a particular language variant. We used 34 vocabulary items all belonging to the children's conversational vocabulary and which were chosen for their simplicity and their morphological and phonological richness as far as the difference between the two language variants were concerned. The choice of the language variant was entirely up to the testee, and it was felt that the result of such a spontaneous vocabulary test would teach us something about language constraints on the use of the standard language and the vernacular in a particular situation. A week after this spontaneous test the 91 testees were asked to name the same objects again but now they were told which language variant to use, first the vernacular, then the standard language or vice versa. The results are summarized in diagram 1.

Discussion

The spontaneous use of dialect variants, that is the number of dialect variants used when the choice of language variant was left open, decreases according to age. This means that between the age of six and twelve the children realize that the vernacular variants may not fit a particular situation whereas we might expect maybe a slight increase in the number of dialect forms. When attention was explicitly drawn to variants, however, we discovered an increase in the use of dialect words until the age of about ten years old. Thereafter we notice a rapid decrease in the use of dialect forms, although the experimenter had insisted on using

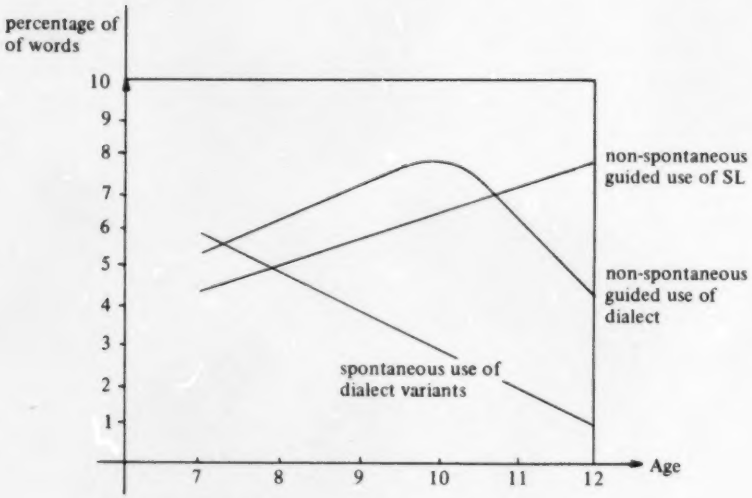

Diagram 1

the vernacular. This may mean that the child becomes fully aware of the social value of its dialect in a particular situation at about the age of ten. As its competence in the standard language increases and as it becomes aware of the value of the standard language in an educational context it increasingly tends to use the standard language. We can clearly observe a barrier on the use of vernacular variants. Yet, [illegible]wer-class children's knowledge of the standard language is still inferior to that of middle-class children. When put in a middle-class environment they will indeed suffer from their language situation. In this case we observe a clear case of so-called language deficiency. The child apparently uses language not according to its knowledge but according to the social values attached to that language variant.

Some may wonder if all this has anything to do with communicative competence. We think it has. Ever since HYMES (1967, 1972) introduced this notion it has evoked a large number of discussions (see HALLIDAY (1970), HABERMAS (1972), RIVERS (1973), PAULSTON (1974), WHITE (9174), VAN DER GEEST (1975), SORNIG (1977)). Yet, it remains unclear what exactly the term covers. Hence every researcher dealing with communicative competence, whatever it may mean, has to redefine the notion or at least state his position. SORNIG (1977) has made some relevant remarks as to this subject. «Basically, all the different specifications of

the concept of CC have one thing in common: in contrast with the conventional concept of competence, CC is not so much the ability to generate and identify (well-formed) sentences of a given language, but rather the ability to produce utterances and thereby realize communicative intentions. Therefore, the criterion by which acts of communication should be assessed is not mere acceptability, (. . .) but appropriateness or efficacy, success or failure, i.e. whether the utterances are appropriate to the task of getting information across, convincing somebody, getting things done etc». (SORNIG, 1977, 349–50).

It is clear that such a conception of communicative competence is miles away from the more traditional views where the notion of «competence» is heavily stressed. But in fact we do not know anything about competence. We agree with SORNIG (1977, 348) that «Performance might just happen to be the real thing actually». Indeed, we would even like to extend WHITE'S (974) notion of communicative competence, namely that «the capacity to manipulate registers is an important part of communicative competence». We are inclined to say at this stage that the manipulation of registers in a social and situational context is identical to the notion of communicative competence. Of course, grammar plays a part in this «But then the ability can only be acquired by learning in actual situations which may be called genuine, insofar as the attention of the speaker is focused on the reactions between partners and their possible mutual responses towards each other» (SORNIG, 1977, 350 with reference to SPANNEL, 1973, 398).

Our data clearly demonstrate the «focusing on the relation between partners» as the language variants differ with age according to the presumed social demands, in our case, the refusal to use dialect variants in a particular situation. This approach of communicative competence gains even more value when we look at it from the viewpoint of speech diversity (GILES and POWESLAND, 1975). There is, of course, no doubt in the literature that individual speech patterns are a function of three factors: the person to whom one is talking, the topic of discourse and the setting. This is well-known. GILES and POWESLAND (1975) try to give a theoretical model that accounts for the adaptation or accommodation people's speech has towards that of their interlocutors (GILES and POWESLAND, 1975, 155). They distinguish (see also GILES, 1977) two important notions already mentioned. One is called convergence and one divergence whereby convergence «is a strategy of identification with the speech patterns of an individual internal to the social interaction» (GILES and POWESLAND, 1975, 156). For instance, when the child is addressed by the teacher in standard language, it will react in a variant as close to

standard language as he possibly can; «speech divergence may be regarded as a strategy of identification with regard to the linguistic norms of some reference group external to the immediate situation» (GILES and POWESLAND, 1975, 156). One may describe this external reference group as a person «who do not share his regular use of certain linguistic items» (GILES and POWESLAND, 1975, 156). This is the case when, for example, a dialect speaking experimenter gets standard language variants in return. There is, however, no automatic gain of approval for those who adopt or try to approximate the speech style of the interlocutor. GILES and POWESLAND (1975) quote HYMES (personal communication) where in East Africa it is not fit to address an East African official in Swahili, first. Instead, one should first give an opportunity to demonstrate the interlocutor's knowledge of English. Afterwards one can switch to Swahili. Our data suggest something similar. The unusual accent of the experimenter, (unusual to the situation) is not approved by the interlocutors (the children). Therefore, we get divergent speech patterns in return. It can be seen that this divergence increases with age. Moreover the divergence seems to be a function of values and attitudes, as GILES and POWESLAND (1975, 156) have suggested. The discrepancy between the children's nearly perfect dialect competence and the attitude that the vernacular is an inferior variant on the one hand, and, on the other hand, between their rather incomplete competence in the standard language with the developing consciousness of the superiority of that language variant accounts for «a conflict between accomodative tendencies and constraints» (GILES and POWESLAND, 1975, 167).

Speakers who use a language variant with lesser prestige may do this for a variety of reasons. They might want to gain the listener's approval, for instance. in our case, the listeners, i.e. the children, clearly expect the standard language in this situation. They react with divergent speech patterns with respect to the experimenter's «downward convergence». Language sensitiveness and performance with respect to different language forms seem fully developed at the age of ten. At that age they tend to adopt the speech values of the school. There is some empirical evidence, however, that at a later stage, when the children are fourteen-fifteen year old, they want to stress their group identity. They will refuse to speak the standard language and stress the vernacular. Their speech behaviour will be one of divergence with respect to the cultural values they fostered earlier. At that stage it is completely impossible to «measure» their standard language competence because they will deny that they speak it. Actual language performance in a specific language variant is a function of attitudinal factors. Performance and communication are

affected by the way speakers expect one or another variant. As we advocate the idea that we can only know language competence through performance we suggest to use the term communicative performance instead of communicative competence in situations as we have studied. Communicative performance can be regarded then as an interaction process between speech diversities governed by attitudinal and situational factors.

Conclusion

We would like to finish with four remarks on sociolinguistics with respect to the findings above.

1) We join AMMON and SIMON (1973) when they state that from a theoretical viewpoint the deficiency hypothesis has more ground to stand on than the difference hypothesis. We have tried to give some evidence as to how language differences can come about in a particular social class; the deficiency finds its roots in social psychological reactions to linguistic data as communicative performance seems to get affected by these processes.
2) What we need now are tentative models and systems with sociolinguistic explanatory power because this is the only way to gain more insight into the linguistic processes which are the result of complicated interaction.
3) It seems extremely interesting within the same social class to specify language differences individually; thus we may account for differences that might not fit the model and this may enlarge our views towards the problem. LABOV (1972, 158) has remarked that [a speech community] «is best defined as a group who shares the same norms in regard to language».
4) Pedagogical directives as far as language and education are concerned should be based on detailed research. It is obvious that our data suggest that advice like «The language of the classroom should be the vernacular» or the opposite «Pay no attention to the vernacular» may be irrelevant with respect to the social psychological and (socio) linguistic facts.

We may hope that in the future tentative theories will eventually lead to an integrative theory of sociodialectology or sociolinguistics. We are

convinced that this will inevitably lead to more insight in linguistics proper, this is not meant tentatively.

Vrije Universiteit Brussel
Department of Germanic Philology
B–1050 Brussels

Pete Van de Craen

References

AMMON, ULRICH (1973 a): *Dialekt, soziale Ungleichkeit und Schule*. Weinheim, Beltz.
AMMON, ULRICH (1973 b): *Dialekt und Einheitssprache in ihrer sozialen Verflechtung*. Weinheim, Beltz.
AMMON, U. (1977): «School Problems of Regional Dialect Speakers: Ideology and Reality», *Journal of Pragmatics 1*. 47–68.
AMMON, ULRICH and G. SIMON (1975): *Neue Aspekte der Soziolinguistik*. Weinheim, Beltz.
BAETENS BEARDSMORE, HUGO and P. VAN DE CRAEN (1979): «The Development of Triglossia in Flemish Belgium», in Marc Van de Velde und Willy Vandeweghe (hrsg): *Sprachstruktur, Individuum und Gesellschaft*. München, Niemeyer. 191–200.
BARATZ, JOAN and R. SHUY (eds) (1969): *Teaching Black Children to Read*. Washington D.C., Center for Applied Linguistics.
BLANK, F. and S. FRANK (1971): «Story-recall in Kindergarten: Effect of Method of Presentation on Psycholinguistic Performance», *Child Development 42*. 299–312.
BRIGHT, WILLIAM (ed) (1966): *Sociolinguistics. Proceedings of the UCLA Sociolinguistic Conference 1964*. The Hague/Paris, Mouton.
BROWN, ROGER and A. GILMAN (1960: «The Pronouns of Power and Solidarity», in Thomas Sebeok (ed): *Style in Language*. New York, John Wiley, 253–276.
CAZDEN, COURTNEY (1970): «The Neglected Situation in Child Language Research and Education», in Frederick Williams (ed): *Language and Poverty: Perspectives on a Theme*. Chicago, Markham, 81–101.
CAZDEN, COURTNEY, VERA JOHN and D. HYMES (eds) (1971): *The Function of Language in the Classroom*. New York, Teachers College Press.
DEPREZ, KAS and G. GEERTS (1977): *Lexical and Pronominal Standardization*. Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik. Beihefte Neue Folge Nr. 22 der Zeitschrift für Mundartforschung.
GILES, HOWARD (1977): «Social Psychology and Applied Linguistics. Towards an Integrative Approach.» *ITL 35*. 27–42.
GILES, HOWARD and P. POWESLAND (1975): *Speech Style and Social Evaluation*. New York, Academic Press.
GUMPERZ, JOHN and D. HYMES (eds) (1972): *Directions in Sociolinguistics*. New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
HABERMAS, JÜRGEN (1972): «Vorbereitende Bemerkungen zu einer Theorie der kommunikativen Kompetenz,» in Jürgen Habermas und N. Luhmann (hrsg): *Theorie der Gesellschaft oder Sozialtheorie*. Frankfurt, Suhrkamp.
HALLIDAY, MICHAEL (1970): «Language Structure and Language Function», in John Lyons (ed): *New Horizons in Linguistics*. Penguin, 140–165.
HASSELBERG, J. (1972): «Die Abhängigkeit der Schulerfolge vom Einfluß des Dialekts.» *Muttersprache 82*. 201–223.
HYMES, DELL (1967): «Models of the Interaction of Language and Social Setting», *Journal of Social Issues 23*. 8–28.

HYMES, DELL (1972): «On Communicative Competence», in John Pride and J. Holmes (eds): *Sociolinguistics*, Penguin, 269–293.
JANSSENS, JAN (1973): «Sociologisch onderzoek in de stedelijke basisscholen in de loop van het schooljaar 1971–1972.» Unpublished Working Paper.
LABOV, WILLIAM (1972): *Sociolinguistic Patterns*, Philadelphia, University Press.
LAMBERT, WALLACE (1972): *Language Psychology and Culture*, Stanford, University Press.
MEEUS, BAUDEWIJN (1972): *Het gebruik van het ABN en het dialect in het Vlaamse land*, Brussel, Mens en Ruimte en Ministerie van de Nederlandse Cultuur.
PAULSTON, CHRISTINA (1974): «Linguistic and Communicative Competence», *TESOL Quarterly 8*, 347–362.
RIVERS, WILGA (1973): «From Linguistic Competence to Communicative Competence», *TESOL Quarterly 7*, 25–34.
SORNIG, KARL (1977): «Disagreement and Contradiction as Communicative Acts», *Journal of Pragmatics 1*, 347–374.
SPANHEL, DIETER (1973): «Kategorienschema zur Analyse verbaler Kommunikationsprozesse im Unterricht», in Dieter Spanhel (hrsg.): *Schülersprache und Lernprozesse*, Düsseldorf, Schwann, 402–412.
SPOLSKY, BERNARD (ed) (1972): *The Language Education of Minority Children*, Rowley, Mass., Newbury House.
VAN DE CRAEN, PETER (1978): «Methodological Implications of Sociolinguistic Research», in *Language and Social Integration*, Brussels, Centrum voor interdisciplinair onderzoek naar de Brusselse taaltoestanden, 1–20.
VAN DER GEEST, TON (1975): *Some Aspects of Communicative Competence and their Implication for Language Acquisition*, Amsterdam, Van Gorcum.
WHITE, R. (1974): «Communicative Competence, Registers and Second Language Teaching», *IRAL 12*, 127:41.
WILLEMYNS, ROLAND (1977): «Sprachpolitische und sprachsoziologische Betrachtungen zur Lage des Niederländischen in Belgien», *OBST 4*, 6–22.
WILLIAMS, F., J. WHITEHEAD and L. MILLER (1971) «Ethnic Stereotyping and Judgments of Children's Speech», *Speech Monographs 38*, 166:170.

Appendix 1

Questionnaire:

1. My child is allowed to speak dialect.
2. Dialects should be forbidden.
3. In order to «make it» it is better to speak the standard language.
4. My child should learn the standard language at school.
5. My dialect is more beautiful than the standard language.
6. I think my children should speak dialect as well as the standard language.
7. I think my child should be allowed to speak dialect in the classroom.
8. Standard language-speakers are more pretentious than dialect-speakers.
9. I think there is no difference between dialect and standard language.
10. If you want «to make it» it is better to speak French than the standard language.
11. The dialect and the standard language have the same communicative value.
12. At school the teachers should speak dialect with the children.
13. I think the standard language is a dignified language.
14. I think the common people should speak dialect.
15. I think that the dialect we speak is ugly.
16. It's easier «to make it» if you speak dialect.
17. Standard language-speakers are usually richer than dialect-speakers.
18. I prefer my child to get lessons in the dialect.
19. I think the standard language is more distinct than the dialect.
20. I think my child should not be allowed to speak dialect in the classroom.